/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, during which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under
• [775] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older
888 persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory
266 of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[771]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

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[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

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766

● 775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[784] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
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774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

2: Becher--156 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
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/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

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5. War -- nĩanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Caríb/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1980 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

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796 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[794] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).
• 795

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

[192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

[795]

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porê transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [184] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./

●775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[769] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
[266] dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

4: Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 775

[Information on the hĩkula, an immortal vital principle appearing in both plants and animals, but in man different than the soul (which he alone possesses), has been filed in category 774.]

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415 372] The quiver, máde of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

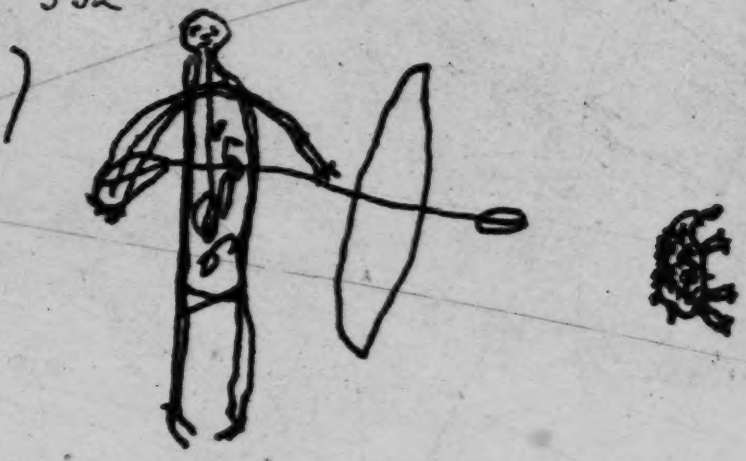
It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

4: Wilbert--70 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532



Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

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The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian. 1/1

1/1 [see explanation of this figure on p. 99 --Anj

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
● 775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] [756] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die in turn if he approaches.

[784] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
• 775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is
793 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He
776 belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kóhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
●775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
629 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the

532 793 778 775 127 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛwīawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛnpĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

[171]

793 The hɛwīawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
050 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hĩkulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
● [795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablĩ. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablĩ who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablĩes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablĩ at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablĩ candidate waiting for them to enter his

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
● 775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 775 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/485/ [illegible]

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

• 775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobɨwɛ̃ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krɛ̃ɔ̃mi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamɔ̃ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamɔ̃ avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawɛ̃, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawɛ̃ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yawaremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanąboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bahii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waka*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ohudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu*. It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bahii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahodi*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ohudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ohudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ohudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-